

# THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. II.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS.

NO. 15.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN, ALL MANKIND.

[SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1832.]

THE LIBERATOR  
IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
AT NO. 11, MERCHANTS' HALL.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

Two Dollars per annum, payable in advance.  
Agents allowed every sixth copy.  
All letters and communications, *excepting*  
from Agents, must be POST PAID.

THE LIBERATOR.

For it is not, no, Athenians! it is not possible to find a lasting power upon injustice, perjury and treachery. These may perhaps succeed for once, and borrow awhile from hope a gay and flourishing appearance. But time betrays their weakness, and they fall into ruin of themselves. For as in structures of every kind, the lower parts should have the greatest firmness, so the grounds and principles of actions should be just and true.—LELAND'S DEMOSTHENES, ORAT. II.

SLAVERY AND THE MEANS OF ITS REMOVAL.

An Address pronounced at the request of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society on the evening of March 26, 1832. By ROBERT B. HALL.

It is our high privilege to live in the most favored part of a land, pre-eminently distinguished by the special smiles of Heaven. Living under a government, the mildest and most equitable upon earth; enjoying all the rights and immunities of free citizens; and uncontrolled in the formation and expression of our opinions; it is natural, as well as proper, that we should feel for the woes and sufferings of our fellow men. We have learned to prize liberty by enjoying its fruits; and when the tidings reach our ears from foreign lands, that a portion of our fellow men are striving to obtain that inestimable blessing, even though it should be at the expense of thousands of lives, our hearts exult, and all our best sympathies are called into action. When we hear the shaking among the nations, when we see the thrones of despots tottering to their foundations and crumbling to decay, even though the tocsin of war is thundering in our ears, and seas of blood are rolling before our eyes, we rejoice, we sympathize, we assist. Wherever oppression is exercised, there are the sympathies of the American. Whenever the bright banner of freedom is unfurled, then is the American awake and active.

The principle which prompts these ardent, generous feelings, is the love of Liberty; and far, very far distant be the day, when it shall be extinguished in the American bosom. Let it not be absent, during the discussions of this evening.

I come to tell you a tale to night, which should make your hearts weep blood. In this boasted land of freedom and of blessedness, amongst a people proverbial for the love of liberty, with their permission and countenance, there are at this moment more than two millions of human beings pining under the galling yoke of Slavery. Yes, in this favored land, there are those who are deprived of the greatest boon of Heaven to men; bought and sold like beasts, torn by the scourge, and lacerated by the cart whip. Men who are made in the image of God, are here bent under the heavy weight of the iron chain,—here their limbs are manacled, and here their minds are fettered in the bondage of ignorance, which they cannot remedy or avoid. In this land, too, there are females with tender sensibilities, made from the same blood, and possessing kindred feeling with ourselves, claimed as the chattels of men, and abused in the most flagrant and shameful manner. And all this is not forbidden, nor is it merely winked at, by our government; it is directly encouraged, and powerfully supported. There are, moreover, those among us, who apologise for this oppression, and there are those who justify and defend it. Strange, indeed, but nevertheless true. And when the horrible system which perpetrates these enormities is disapproved of, it is, in a majority of instances, merely disapproved, without feeling, and often without examination.

I come before you this evening, to endeavor to delineate to you the magnitude of the crime of Slavery, to enlist your sympathies and efforts in its removal, and to state what are believed, by the Society I have the honor to address, to be the most just and efficient means to accomplish its extirpation from the land. I shall speak plainly; and should any expressions of seeming harshness be detected, it will be borne in mind, that I am addressing you on a subject, upon which it is impossible to speak with that coolness which is calculated to lull the conscience, and gloss over the crime. I do not name the propositions which I shall advance, as opinions merely, but as principles which cannot be denied, and which may not be concealed, without trifling with the immutable principles of truth, and the cause of justice and

philanthropy. With these remarks, I would respectfully solicit your candid consideration of the subject of Slavery, and the means of its removal, reminding you that it is a subject of unspeakable importance, and as I hope to show you, one in which we are all deeply interested.

When we look at Slavery as it exists in the world, and especially in our own country, we, who are born and brought up in New-England, are accustomed from our early education to look upon it as an evil, and too often as a misfortune; and having blessed God that we are not troubled with it, heave a sigh, and dismiss the matter from our thoughts. Many of us who consider the matter a little more deeply, are made to believe, that slavery is not so bad a thing as has been represented. We are told that the slaves are happy, are comfortably clothed and lodged, kindly treated, and on the whole, are as well off, as the laboring classes among us; certainly, they are as pleasantly situated as the free blacks in our midst; and are thus led to conclude that although it may be well to abolish it, no great evil will ensue, if this should not take place in our day. Thus, by the sophistry and cunning of interested slaveholders, are we beguiled of that deep sense, which we ought always to possess, of the outrage upon humanity which is constantly practised, in retaining from the slave his birthright—Liberty. But without detailing to you the griefs of the slave, without rehearsing the sad tale of his sorrows and distresses, I shall proceed to show that in at least two all important particulars, slavery is a great crime, a moral and political evil.

First, then, the retaining of a human being in bondage, is contrary to the principles of the christian religion which we as a nation profess.

Singular as it may appear, this proposition is doubted or denied by many, who, in other things, act and reason correctly. It would be very easy to show that the slaveholder in depriving the slave and his offspring of liberty, and in exercising his tyrannical government over them, by his own act, or by occasioning acts of wickedness in the bondsman, breaks every one of the laws of God, as epitomised in what is termed the moral law. This I shall not now stop to prove. I trust I shall not be controverted when I assert, that 'man cannot hold property in man.' The supposition is self-evident; and if there are any who deny it, they will be obliged to admit, that if the white man can hold property in the black man, the black man can by an equal right hold property in the white man. No man can make himself the slave of another. How then, consistently with justice and right, can another be entitled to make his fellow creature a slave? Nothing less than an express warrant from Heaven can justify a man in claiming or keeping another as his property. Unless God himself, whose property we all are, shall give authority to one of his subjects to hold another as his own, the presumptuous wretch who shall dare to assume this right, is guilty of direct robbery of his Sovereign and his God. I shall not stop to prove to you that slavery is inconsistent with justice, mercy, kindness, and love to man, all of which are duties enjoined by the gospel; for I doubt not it will at once be admitted. It will not be pretended that the conduct of the slaveholder, in depriving his victim of his natural rights, harmonises with that fundamental rule of Christianity.—'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' It may be said, however, that those who hold slaves at the present day, are suffering under an evil entailed upon them, and that they are not guilty, as all admit the original kidnappers were. Why not? If it is unlawful, wicked, and unchristian, if it is a violation of the laws of God, to steal a man, and force him into bondage; is it not just as wicked, and just as unchristian, to retain him in that state, depriving him of his rights, however he may have been obtained? Are not his rights withheld? Is not something belonging to him kept back? Do you not consider the receiver of stolen goods, and he who places another's property beyond his reach, equally culpable with the prowling thief? The crime is as great in the one case as in the other, and the just judgment of heaven will overtake the one as soon as the other.

In discussing this part of the subject, the question may arise, in the minds of some—how can these principles be reconciled with the permission given by Jehovah in olden time, to his chosen people, to hold slaves? In reply I would observe, that if the American slaveholder could show a license from Jehovah to hold slaves at the present time, then the matter would end. But every one knows that this cannot be done. It cannot be denied, that a certain kind of slavery was permitted under the old dispensation; but it was a far different bondage from that which the poor negro suffers in our southern states. But it seems to me, that unless the express permission

of the Almighty, to execute oppression, and to tyrannize over our fellow men, can be pleaded in this case, it should be the part of candor and of reason to abandon so fallacious a plea. It will be conceded, also, that slavery is not, in precise words, forbidden in the New Testament. But I would ask, if the spirit of that blessed volume does not every where condemn even the shadow of oppression? There are many practices common among men, which are undoubtedly wicked and hateful in the sight of Heaven; and yet by name they are not forbidden; but no man is considered as excusable in their commission, for that reason. But the argument need not rest here. There are numerous passages in the word of God, which are equivalent to a prohibition of this heinous sin. It is said in those holy oracles, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'; and we are informed, that each individual of the human species is our neighbor. Can love to our neighbor be manifested, by holding him in slavery and treating him as a brute? Our Saviour's golden rule, before referred to, reprobates the abomination. The great Apostle of the Gentiles tells those who are masters, 'to give unto their servants that which is just and equal'; 'to forbear threatening,' 'knowing that their master is in heaven, and that there is no respect of persons with him.' But what is there in these requisitions consonant with American slavery? What slave receives that which is just and equal? What master is there who forbears threatening, knowing that his master is in heaven? We are taught also in the same scriptures which are appealed to, to support this system, that we are all on a level in the sight of God—all on a level, in regard to the benefits of the Saviour's death. How then can any dream of the sinlessness of keeping those, for whom Christ died, in a worse than Egyptian bondage? Does not the whole spirit of Christianity rather, militate against the objection, and plainly and pointedly teach the law of kindness and brotherly love?

Before disposing of this part of the subject, I will briefly notice one other objection, which has had weight with many minds. It has been urged, that many pious, zealous Christians have held slaves; and this has been considered as evidence that slaveholding was consistent with Christianity. Now it is very possible, that many calling themselves Christians have held their fellow men in bondage; nay more, it is possible, that some who were really Christians, have done it ignorantly. But is this any evidence of Christianity? Is it not rather true, that no real Christian can continue in the constant practice of any known sin? Were we to admit that slaveholding is consistent with Christianity, we should virtually be saying, that justice is no part of religion, and that injustice and oppression are not crimes. We should declare, that faith without works is not dead. Can the principles of justice, mercy and truth be the rule of life to the slaveholder? Does he follow the golden rule? Does he obey Christ? Assuredly not. The man who professes Christianity, and yet deals in the bodies and souls of his fellow men, has by far the greater claim to the appellation of hypocrite, than he can have to that of Christian. As well might you attempt to harmonize the hideous discords of the pit, with the ravishing melody of the celestial choir, as to blend the characters of the slaveholder and the Christian. Enough has now been said, to convince reasonable men that slavery is a crime, utterly inconsistent with the Christian religion. If this is so, it is a great moral evil, calling for immediate reformation and immediate cure. We come now to the next proposition, viz.:

Slavery is inconsistent with the spirit of our free republican institutions.

The fundamental principles upon which our government is built, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, are, 'that all men are born equal, endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' The constitutions of almost all the States in the Union recognised the same principles. These principles lay at the foundation of every free and happy government; and wherever they are not acknowledged and practised upon, there human nature suffers wrong, and there the dearest rights of man are trampled in the dust. But what sort of commentary is our practice as a nation upon that instrument, which, under God, has been the fruitful source of unnumbered blessings to us? Do we not controvert and deny it, by the oppression exercised among us towards two millions of our fellow citizens? Strange inconsistency! at one moment we laud and extol the principle of equality, and anon we apologize for, and defend a system, which denies and derides it. In another point of view it may clearly be seen, that slavery is inconsistent with republicanism. It creates and fosters an aristocratical state of society. Wherever this system exists, giving one man

power over the persons and actions of others, there are as many petty tyrants, as there are masters. The command of the master is a law, which, however unreasonable it may be, must be obeyed, or the hapless victim must suffer a punishment, which among us is considered too ignominious to be administered to the vilest malefactor, even by the civil arm. The master riots on the fruits of the toil of his poor bondsmen, enjoying the greatest luxuries at his ease without any exertion or care on his part; and the consequence is, that he becomes indolent, arrogant, selfish and wilful. Accustomed to unlimited control at home, like a spoiled child, he imagines he can govern every where else. As his commands are submissively obeyed by his slave, he supposes that the expression of his opinion, or the promulgation of his desire or determination, will be sufficient to accomplish his object whenever he chooses to make his sentiments known. Hence that spirit of insubordination, which is constantly manifested in the southern states, and the prevalence of opinions in that quarter, subversive alike of morality and of a free government. It is a well known fact, derived from history, that whenever any nation becomes luxurious, that then the time of its destruction is nigh at hand. To cite one instance—Rome, in her first estate, simple, frugal, and industrious, speedily rose to eminence and renown, and became the mistress of the world. Afterwards, as she increased in riches, pomp and splendor, her citizens revelling in the most luxurious, and consequently, in the most enervating practices, she as rapidly decreased in power and in reputation, until her glory was departed, and she became an easy prey to her enemies. So in this happy republic, the same gangrene is fastening upon us, which caused the destruction of that flourishing empire; and unless we are careful to remove it, at no distant day the sad fate of Rome will be ours; and in our fall, the light of the world will be put out, the hope of all nations forever extinguished. Slavery is a promoter of this very luxuriousness, tending to produce all those disastrous consequences which slowly, but inevitably, follow such a state of society. In this pernicious system, I see the seeds of our destruction as a nation. I view it as a moral poison, affecting the whole body politic, working only to corrupt, and to destroy.

But I am asked, what have we of New-England to do with this subject? I will detain you but a moment while I attempt to show, how much we are interested, and how deeply we are guilty. In the first place, then, and with shame I acknowledge it, we, New-Englanders, have contributed greatly to this mass of wretchedness. While the law permitted, it was our ships, manned with our own brethren, which were seen in greatest abundance along the shores of Africa, to bring away her sons and daughters, and to condemn them to servitude and chains. We, for hire, have ministered to the insatiable desires of the planter—our very cities are adorned with the fruits of this nefarious traffic. And are we not interested in the removal of the very cause we assisted to create? Are we not responsible for some portion of its guilt?

But we are interested and guilty in another way. We not only assisted to establish this system, but we do now, even now, contribute to its support. By our constitutional compact, we are pledged to the support of a congress, having power to call forth the militia to suppress insurrection. We contribute largely to the support of an army, which congress has power, at any time, to command to keep the slaves in subjection; and on a recent occasion, the garrison of Fort Independence, in our very harbor, were ordered southward to assist in perpetrating the iniquitous system. Here do not understand me to approve of insurrection or of bloodshed. By no means. I deprecate such events as much as any one; and these facts are only brought to view, as illustrations of the position I have assumed. New-England's bayonets are the constant trust of the slaveholder. He knows that if an insurrection occurs, that all our physical power is at his command; he rests upon this, in his iniquity, and he sleeps secure. We support the system also, by furnishing a market for the productions of slave labor, thus bribing the planter to retain his slaves. And by our listlessness in the cause, and our inactivity, by not using the powers in our possession to overthrow the evil, we are greatly guilty. We have virtually upheld and supported the sin. I do not mean by this that we should take up our arms, and march against the south and compel them by the bayonet to release the slaves; far from it—they are our brethren, and God forbid, that we should spill their blood! And Heaven forgive the man who can hear of such a proposal without horror and indignation! But I do mean, that we should create such a public opinion against the system, that the Planter can remain no longer

easy in his sins. If you ask then, how the monstrous evil can be remedied, you have my answer, by the force of public opinion. By public opinion sitting strongly against this abomination. By public opinion the most effectual, and indeed the only weapon, which can be used in these free and happy states. Let the public be disabused of their prejudices against the blacks, let a correct moral sentiment prevail extensively in our land concerning this subject, and the desired end is accomplished. Slaveholding will become unpopular, it will be considered infamous to persevere in it, and the planter must liberate his slaves. But it is vastly important that the public opinion which is formed, should be correct, and consistent with truth and justice. What then should be the principles upon which this public sentiment should be based? I answer unhesitatingly, the principles of Immediate Emancipation.

Perhaps this doctrine is less understood, and has been the theme of more misrepresentation, than any single theory ever broached in this or any other country. When put in practice, it does not, as is supposed, inevitably lead to bloodshed and to war, but its effects are as diverse from this, as two extremes can possibly be. Its meaning is simply this, and it is a question of right solely, that the Planter should instantly relinquish his pretended right of property in his slave; a right which God never gave him, and which he can obtain in no other way. That the personal liberty of the slave should be no longer abridged, and that he should no longer be considered as a subject of sale. That he should no longer be defrauded of the remuneration due to his labor. Is there any thing in these principles so heinous, so much to be dreaded? It has been observed before, we hold that man cannot possess property in man, and that this is a self-evident principle. It follows then as a necessary consequence, that if this principle is violated, a crime is committed, and an evil is introduced. If we believe then that slavery is an evil *now*, why should we delay in abolishing it? If it is a sin and a crime, the commands of God imperatively demand its immediate relinquishment. It is admitted by all candid and reasonable men that slavery ought, and will be abolished, sooner or later; but does not every principle that requires that it should be abolished at all, prove that it ought to be abolished now? If slavery is an evil, if it is a crime, we have no right to transmit it to generations yet to come. What right have we to entail upon our offspring that, which will assuredly bring down upon them the withering frown and the heavy curse of Almighty God, even if we are so happy as to escape it? Our Saviour has given us a rule of action which will immediately decide the question of duty in the case before us. Hear ye him. 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' Let us make the application to ourselves. Suppose your own kindred—the wife of your bosom—the offspring of your mutual love—your parent—your brother—or your sister—pining under the galling chain—scourged at their daily task—compelled to labor for another's profit—what would your ideas of duty be in such circumstances? Reverse the case—there are the wives, the children, the parents, brothers, sisters of the black man suffering in a cruel bondage, miseries the half of which can not be told; and he has the same feelings and the same natural sensibilities which you have. On the supposition that this was your unhappy condition, you would hear of nothing less, or else, than that such oppression and tyranny should instantly cease. Let then your sympathies and your sense of duty, act in the case of these your brethren, as in your own; for they are your brethren, and in the sight of God there is no respect of persons. The course proposed then, is plainly the path of duty;—as accountable creatures, no consideration can take precedence of this. Act then as duty dictates, and leave the event with God.

I shall next consider the principal objections which have come to knowledge against this doctrine, and attempt their refutation. First then it is urged, 'that the emancipated slaves will be a source of great danger to the whites.' Allow me to remark, before we proceed in the examination of the objection, that the burden of proof rests upon the objector, and not upon the friends of Abolition. It is for him to show that the events feared will take place. But from what can it be inferred? From the conduct of the slaves heretofore? When they have arisen in arms, it has been to obtain the very blessing which we propose to give them. When they have it in possession, will the cause of insurrection still exist? Even if they should rise in arms, which, in my view, is granting an absurdity, are we not in possession of the same means of defence, wealth, arms, men, which we ever had? How easily has every insurrection which has yet taken place,







**ANOTHER DISAPPEARANCE.**—A colored woman, name Rebecca Robinson, upwards of seventy years of age, left her residence in Schuylkill Second street, between Race and Vine streets, on Saturday last, and although every inquiry has been made, she has not been heard of since. She was temperate in her habits, a stranger in the city, and left the house on an errand intending to return in a few minutes. She wore a dark gown, black shawl and check apron.—Any information respecting her, will be gratefully received by her daughter, whose residence is above mentioned.—*Philad. paper.*

#### From Poulson's Daily Advertiser.

#### TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION.

I have just been furnished with the following bill, reported a few days since in the House of Representatives, the perusal of which cannot fail to excite the astonishment and indignation of every friend of human liberty. We have certainly fallen upon evil times, when such propositions as are contained in this bill, can find tolerance in a Pennsylvania Legislature.—What right have we to exclude the free blacks or mulattoes, who are citizens of other States, from unrestrained ingress into Pennsylvania, any more than we should have to exclude swarthy colored natives of Spain, or Italy, or France, who might have acquired rights of citizenship in a neighboring state? The framers of the bill ought to have borne the exact shade of color which should deprive a citizen of his rights, and render the Constitution of the United States of no avail with regard to him. We infringe upon the provisions of this charter of our liberties just as much when we deprive a black or mulatto citizen of the rights of residence or ingress, which that instrument guarantees, as when we commit the same act in reference to one, the color of whose skin may be a few shades lighter.

Every citizen of the United States has a right of ingress into every State of the Union, and of residence therein, expressly granted to him by the Federal Constitution. The inquiry of the bill under consideration, however, does not alone consist in the discussion, but also in the further prohibition of exclusion of colored citizens of Pennsylvania from changing their residence from one county of the State to another, without giving security in the sum of five hundred dollars, or carrying about with him a pass, duly signed and certified, as is the case with slaves in the West Indies, and in our Southern States. It also imposes a heavy penalty upon any citizen who may happen, even accidentally, to employ a colored man, who has neglected to give the requisite security, or who has perhaps lost or mislaid his pass. Half of this penalty is to go to any vagabond who may turn informer against his humane neighbor, who may have given employment to a fellow creature, with a dark skin. We do most sincerely hope that the Statute Book of Pennsylvania, will never be disgraced with such a law as this. Ten years ago, such was the disposition which existed in this State, to protect the oppressed blacks, (even the fugitive slaves), that no man would have dared to defend such a bill upon the floor of our Assembly, and shall Pennsylvania now commence a new system of oppression upon this defenceless people, when the slaveholding states are relaxing the severity of their ancient systems? We trust that every Representative from the city and county of Philadelphia, will record his vote against this unjust and unconstitutional bill, and that it will not be hurried through at the end of the session, when time cannot be allowed for the expression of the voice of the people against it. —*ARISTIDES.*

An act to prohibit the migration of Negroes and Mulattoes into this Commonwealth.

**SECTION 1st.** Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of June next, no negro or mulatto person shall be permitted to emigrate into and settle in this state, unless such negro or mulatto person shall, within twenty days after his or her arrival in any county of this state, enter into bond to the Commonwealth, with one or more sufficient sureties, before the Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions of such county, to be approved by such Clerk, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars, conditioned for the good behaviour of such negro or mulatto person; and, moreover, for the maintenance of such person, in case he or she should become chargeable as a pauper on any city, county or township in this Commonwealth.

**Sec. 2d.** And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or mulatto person shall remove into, and remain within this state, longer than the term prescribed by the first section of this act, without having complied with the provisions thereof, it shall be the duty of the Constable of any ward, borough, or township, either on his own view, or on the information of any other person, to arrest such negro or mulatto person, and take him or her before some Alderman or Justice of the Peace, who shall inflict such punishment as now directed in the case of vagrants.

**Sec. 3d.** And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be the duty of the Clerk of the court, to furnish to each negro or mulatto person, who shall have given the bond prescribed by the first section of this act, a certificate, under the seal of his office, of that fact. And if any inhabitant of this state shall employ, harbor, or conceal, any such negro or mulatto person, who shall come into this state after the first day of June next, and continue therein, without having complied with the provisions of this act, every such person shall forfeit and pay for every such offence, the sum of fifty dollars, to be recovered before any Alderman of a City, or Justice of the Peace of a County, in which such offence shall have been committed, by action of debt, in the name of the Commonwealth, one half of such penalty to be paid to the informer, and the other half to the proper overseers or directors of the poor, in such city, township, or county.

**Sec. 4th.** And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be the duty of each Assessor of the several wards of the cities, and of the several townships in this Commonwealth, in addition to the duties now required of him, to take a census of all negro or mulatto persons, who shall have resided within such ward or township, on or before the first day of June next, entering thereon the name, complexion, sex, and age of each, as nearly as he can ascertain it, and return such census to the Commissioners of the county, and the said Commissioners shall cause Alphabetical lists of all such negro and mulatto persons so returned, and found resident in the county, to be made out, designating the name, complexion, sex and age of each, and the ward or township in which each has resided, and a copy thereof to be delivered to each Alderman, and Justice of the Peace, and Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, of such city or county. And every negro or mulatto who shall remove from one county to another, within this state, shall be liable to the penalties of the first and second sections of this act, unless he or she shall produce the certificate of the Clerk of said Court, or of a Justice of the Peace, or Alderman, of the district from which he removed, of his residence therein, of which said census shall be evidence.

**Tyranny and Oppression.**—We read with some degree of surprise an article under this title in Poulson's Daily Advertiser. The people of Pennsylvania from the first settlement of that state, have uniformly borne a character for philanthropy and the ex-

ercise of social and benevolent virtues, which has been denied to some of the other members of our national union. But should the bill, now under consideration in her house of Representatives, pass into a law, her claim to such an enviable superiority may well be doubted.

It appears to us, that such a bill is unconstitutional—unjust and oppressive it most certainly is. What is to become of the colored population, if they are to be driven from state to state, and allowed no resting-place for the sole of the foot, without giving bonds of five hundred dollars! Probably not one in five hundred could comply with such a requisition. If the free blacks can exist only on such terms, they may well curse the day that relieved them from slavery, for slavery must be an enviable state compared with such freedom.—*Boston Courier.*

#### BOSTON.

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1832.

#### IMPERTINENCE.

Not satisfied with duping the people of this country, the American Colonization Society some time last year sent out an agent to England, named Elliot Crosson, to impose upon the credulity and kindness of its inhabitants. He has, we believe, partially succeeded; and to him the nation is probably indebted for a petition, signed by forty British subjects, beseeching Congress to favor the colonization, which was presented in the House of Representatives on Monday, April 2. A more impertinent act we have never known. The debate upon this anomalous presentation was extremely ardent, portions of which we shall publish next week. From its complexion we are confident that the Colonization Society has nothing to expect from Congress. The English petition was introduced by Mr Mercer of Virginia, one of the stoutest pillars of the Society. In the course of his remarks, Mr M. made the following avowal, which, for madness of purpose and contempt of principle, has scarcely its parallel. Look at this!

*'The abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other'!!!!*

The following comments are from the Boston Telegraph:

The remarks of Mr. Mercer, in the debate in Congress, on the presentation of a Memorial signed by forty citizens of England, on the subject of slavery, in our view, deserves reprehension. It should be known, that this gentleman is a prominent advocate and supporter of the Colonization Society. His sentiments are in exact accordance with the principles upon which that Society is based. He says, "The abolition of slavery was no object to him, unless accompanied by colonization." That is, in plain English, I will never give my vote to free a colored person, unless he or she shall be forthwith banished from their native soil—soil, which the father and the son have, by their hard labor, at six pence per day, purchased twice over; because, forsooth, that God who has "made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth," has in his adorable sovereignty, judged it proper to clothe him with a dark skin. This is a horrible doctrine! a doctrine, which must have had its origin in the pit, and been whispered in his ear by the "old deceiver."

We say, it is their right to be free—to be free now, and to remain free here. The right of freedom is every man's; a right which we inherit, in common, from God himself, and one, which nothing short of impiety dare ever question.

So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other.

Indeed! would Mr. Mercer rather bid a final farewell to his native country, than to see justice take place? So he declared on the floor of Congress. The speeches of such philanthropists should be "few and far between." Such sentiments cannot but render the man who utters them odious, in the view of every person who has a spark of benevolence or love of justice remaining. We trust the time is not far distant, when Mr. Mercer will have his theory put to a practical test; and then a fine opportunity will offer for colonizing the whites, who wish to go, (for none but those made willing by oppression, severe and frequent flagellation must go) to Oregon, or some other far distant land.

The memorial was finally withdrawn, and very properly refused a reading. We pity the ignorance or infatuation of its signers. It is as follows:

CIRENCESTER, (England), Jan. 25, 1832.

To the Honorable House of Representatives of the United States of America, the undersigned members and friends of the American Colonization Society, resident in Great Britain, respectfully present the following address:

Deeply impressed with sentiments of abhorrence of the evils of the Slave Trade and Slavery, we resort to your Honorable House as to a refuge for the oppressed, under the sanction of a consoling trust that circumstances are at this crisis highly favorable for effecting a beneficial change in the condition of the colored population of the United States, and in the full belief that you, as conservators of Liberty, will lend every possible aid to the sacred cause.

We feel attached by Language, Lineage, and Religion, to our American Brethren, and we sincerely rejoice in the growing prosperity of their beloved country; but, we fear that that prosperity may at no very distant period be exposed to danger, should not the system of slavery which prevails in several of the States, be materially corrected, if not wholly eradicated.

It appears to us an incontrovertible fact, that a mixed population of Whites and Blacks cannot in the nature of things cordially unite, nor experience those reciprocal social blessings, which either of the classes might, if separate, enjoy.

Under this conviction, we, your Memorialists, beg to lay before your honorable House a concise view of those circumstances to which we have alluded, and that appear to us of a character so auspicious to the eventual relief of America from the lamentable consequences of slavery, and to the restoration of the emancipated to a proper station in society.

The landing point to which we would refer is the rising Colony of Liberia, on the Western Shores of Africa, established by the silent, persevering, and judicious efforts of the American Colonization Society, to which we steadily look as an asylum pointed out (may we say) even by the finger of Divine Providence, where the sons of Africa will find a climate congenial with their constitutions, and may form a society peculiarly adapted to their capabilities, and what is more, to extend Civilization and Christianity into the very heart of Africa, and to establish a legitimate commerce on the ruins of that most infamous traffic, the Slave Trade.

It appears that numerous offers of slaves for emancipation and colonization are made to the Society, which, to the extent of its means, it eagerly embraces, but for the purposes of so great an undertaking the means of individuals or of the Society are too limited—happily for America she is about to be exonerated from a Public Debt, and we venture respectfully to ask to what better purpose can National resources be applied?

In conclusion, we presume to solicit such aid on behalf of the American Colonization Society, as to your honorable House may seem meet; and we shall ever feel ourselves anxious to do all in our power to promote the welfare of the United States, and to sustain the amicable relations which so happily subsist between that country and our own.

#### YOUNG MEN'S AUXILIARY COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF NEW-YORK.

In our 13th number we recorded the formation of this Society, and reprinted some of the speeches delivered on that occasion. In the address of J. R. Townsend, Esq. we find the following sentiments:

*'With as color is the bar. Nature has raised up barriers between the races, which no man with a proper sense of the dignity of his species desires to see surmounted. To emancipate two millions of slaves, and leave them among a distant race: there was madness in the thought. To send them to Hayti or beyond the Rocky Mountains had been abandoned. So that there was no choice of remedies. If the plan of this Society fail, we shall have done all that man can do, and must sit down, as a nation, in quiet submission to the wise but unknown decrees of Providence.'*

Now we affirm that color is not the slightest barrier between the races, as our southern amalgamations clearly demonstrate. It is so difficult to distinguish in the slave States who is white or black, that witnesses are often summoned to court to solve the problem! Talk of the barriers of nature! Why, this J. R. Townsend, Esquire, must either be totally blind or unable to discriminate between shades of color. A walk of five minutes in New-York will show him scores of living refutations of his statement. Happy were it for the female slave if this barrier of nature were impassable during her bondage! for her master, or overseer, leaps over it without an effort! The barriers of nature, indeed! How easily a 'young man' may talk nonsense!

But this barrier 'no man with a proper sense of the dignity of his species desires to see surmounted.' Certainly, then, slaveholders have not this proper sense. The meaning is, we pale faces are superior in dignity and creation to the blacks, and are therefore bound to treat them always as a distinct and inferior caste. How modest—how self-evident—how philanthropic! 'O wise young man, how I do honor thee!'

But to emancipate two millions of slaves, and leave them here! Distracting thought! Prove, Mr T., our right to expel them, and the insufficiency of their claim to freedom. Can you do this? If not, shall we force them away, or continue to oppress them, to escape the 'maddening thought' of emancipation?

But if the Society fail to remove the blacks, we must sit down in quiet submission to the wise but unknown decrees of Providence. Indeed! But suppose the slave will not follow our example, and should disturb our reverie by an insurrection—what shall we do?

Again:

*'They have taken the free black that, as a class, dwells among us a living nuisance, nominally free, but bowed to the ground by public opinion—in one part of the country dull as a brutish beast, in another the wild stirrer up of sedition and insurrection—they have shewn him to be capable of great and judicious self-government—they have instructed him in the arts of civilized life, and held him up as a model to the rude tribes around him. They have converted the curse of one world into the blessing of the other.'*

*'Dull as a brutish beast!'*—and yet as soon as he touches the shores of Africa, almost as intellectual and majestic as an angel! There must be something miraculous in a voyage across the Atlantic, thus to metamorphose stupidity into intelligence; and we respectfully advise Mr T. to try its effects upon his own pericranium. 'The wild stirrer up of sedition and insurrection!'—A flagrant libel, calculated to foster that animosity and prejudice which reign so violently against the free people of color. Mr T. is a genuine colonizationist.

So is William Inglis, Esq. who addressed the same meeting, and said among other things—

*'What effects does emancipation produce without removal? A discontented and useless population; having no sympathies with the rest of the community, doomed by immovable barriers to eternal degradation. I know that there are among us, those of warm and generous hearts, who believe that we may restrain the black man here, and raise him up to the full and perfect stature of human nature. That degree of improvement can never take place except the races be amalgamated; and amalgamation is a day dream.'*

It may seem strong, but it is true that 'a skin not colored like our own' will separate them from us, as long as our feelings continue a part of our nature.'

More barriers! But we have shown that none exist. Amalgamation may be 'a day dream,' but the night brings its fulfilment.

*'Doomed to eternal degradation here! Americans! do not your cheeks glow with honest indignation at this impeachment of your magnanimity, benevolence and honor? Answer!'*

*'We are again crowded into a very narrow compass, in order to give place to the excellent Address of Mr Hall. Adam Arator, and other communications, next week.'*

**FROM LIBERIA.** The ship James Perkins, Capt. Crowell, which sailed from Norfolk last Dec. with emigrants for the colony at Monrovia, has returned. The report that the emigrants had mutinied on the outward passage, was a sheer fabrication. Their conduct on the passage was becoming and orderly. An old weakly woman and two infant children died on the passage, but the residue of the passengers, 342 in number, were landed in safety. The schooner Crawford had arrived at Liberia, with twenty-two emigrants, from New-Orleans.—*Transcript.*

**Noah Webster Outdone.**—The Emperor of China has published a new Dictionary, in forty large volumes.

#### For the Liberator.

#### THE MACON REPERTORY. No. IV.

We pity the ignorance of men who have never realized the beatings of heavenly instruction; but what shall we say of professed instructors, who first blind their own eyes, that they may lead the voluntarily blind into the gulf of delusion? Such is the case of the Macon Repertory when he asks—'what means the Apostle in all his holy instructions of obedience? Does he address freemen, and not slaves?'

We cannot expatiate upon this boundless topic; but a few remarks are indispensable. Slavery, as it now exists, was never known among the Jews; and slavery, under any modification, never existed among the primitive Christians. If the Macon Repertory wishes to be ranked with the Pagans, we cannot except to his claim. A Jew could not hold his brother as a servant longer than until the next Sabbatical year, unless he voluntarily chose to remain until the Jubilee; then the release was unconditional and obligatory. Gentile captives were always directed to return to their own country, if, after a short period, they did not become proselytes to the Jewish religion; and no son of Abraham could be a slave, in our understanding of the term. There is no word in the Hebrew, Chaldee or Syriac language, which conveys the idea of a Georgian slave; and as it regards the Pagan idolaters around Judea, the fact that the defenders of Slavery are obliged to resort to 'the nations who knew not God,' for examples and justification of their system, demonstrates the utter corruption and abominations of Man-stealing and Slave-driving.

It is triumphantly asked, whom did Paul address? We reply—Paul addressed two classes of Masters—the unconverted, and Christians. When the former made the grand inquiry, 'What shall we do to be saved?' and practised the reply, 'repent and believe'—the next inquiry would be, how must I prove the sincerity of my penitence and faith? If he had been a slaveholder, he at once emancipated his bondmen; for the Christians of the apostolic era did not comprehend, (as the Macon Repertory asserts,) how a man can aver, that a person who buys, barters, drives and holds slaves has not even a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and yet profess to be a Christian. To such 'unaccountables' they would have propounded the pungent retort: 'thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?' Hence it is recorded as one of the most blissful and beneficial triumphs of Christianity in the three first centuries of its existence, that it completely exterminated the servile system wherever it swayed; and as soon as it exercises its legitimate influence in the southern states, the fetters of despotic iniquity will be shivered to atoms.

The Apostle addressed servants; but even a Pagan bondman was a very different character from a Georgian slave. He was often emancipated—ordinarily a domestic superintendent—frequently the adopted child and heir—and except by persons similar to our modern slaveholders, was considered as one of the family; and amid all the barbarity to which he was exposed, experienced many alleviations of his wretched bondage. Paul told him to procure his freedom if he could; the means were left to his own prudence, conscience, and the direction of God. But he was to remember his Christian character, and do nothing which could disgrace the religion which he professed, 'casting all his care upon God who cared for him.' The Macon Repertory sees a perfect analogy between a modern Christian Preacher, starving, whipping, buying and selling slaves, and retaining them in brutal ignorance; or even enslaving his professed fellow Christian; and a Believer in the primitive ages submitting to ignominy and toil for the sake of the Redeemer, and with the hope of recommending pure and undefiled religion in all its loveliness to his idolatrous tyrant. It would be folly to waste time in the confutation of such profound, wilful perversion of truth and fact.

The Macon Repertory states, that 'the Ambassador of the cross enforces the truths of the Gospel at the door of the negro hut.' This is pure fiction, in its true meaning; but what truths does he enforce? We are told in reply, 'the most heart cheering and salutary admonitions from Paul's sixth letter to Timothy, admonitions alike salutary to the present and eternal interests of the slave and his owner.' On the contrary, we affirm, that the truths of the Gospel upon the subject of slavery never yet were enforced in Georgia; and we are certain, that there is not one man of any sect or denomination, who dares to preach this heart cheering and salutary admonition, from Isaiah 58: 6. 'Loose the bonds of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke.' If the Macon Repertory will preach from that text a pure gospel sermon, and will send it to us, we will publish it for his benefit. Those admonitions are salutary to the Slave Driver; and, if practised, would be heart cheering to the slave, who would hear 'the gospel's joyful sound' with unspeakable ecstasy. As for Paul's sixth letter to Timothy, we shall be obliged to the Macon Repertory to furnish a copy of it for the churches; only remarking, that if, as he intimates, it is in defence of slavery, the critics will assuredly pronounce it spurious and apocryphal.

The Macon Repertory affirms, that 'it will cost as much labor to prove that the Georgian slaves should be emancipated and set free, as to evince, that the slaves would do God service, by cutting our throats and murdering our wives and children indiscriminately.' The friends to the abolition of slavery are all decidedly conscientious opponents of human throat-cutting, and butchering women and children, whether it be colored persons thus ravaging, or white men thus murdering; but the Macon Repertory has a sadly treacherous memory, or he would remember his Slaveholding Master's declaration, Job 2: 3—'Skin for skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life'—and if a white man deems his liberty and happiness worth staking his life to secure; surely according to the doctrine of the Prince of kidnappers, he could not be surprised, if a colored man forms the same estimate of his body and soul. We hope the Lord in his mercy will give the slaves patience and freedom, and their kidnappers repentance and honesty.

#### THE PROTESTANT.

#### For the Liberator.

#### REV. ISAAC ORR vs. THE COLONIZATION CONTROVERSY.

**TO THE PUBLIC.**—The conduct of the Rev. Isaac Orr, in relation to the Colonization Controversy, cannot be considered otherwise than as exceedingly ungentlemanly and cowardly. He took the place of the 'Shade of Ashmun' to discuss the merits of Colonization with any one; he fearlessly challenged the opposers of his favorite scheme to break a lance with him; and then when his terms were accepted, he withdrew ignominiously from the Controversy upon a nonsensical and ridiculous plea. But such will, and necessarily must be the conduct of every abettor of error, and advocate of prejudice. It fully verifies the excellent maxim—'For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh he to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved.' The Colonization scheme originated among men whose prejudice against, and hostility to the interests of the free people of color, rendered them peculiarly adapted to the task of depriving them of home, and of enjoyments which

—'never rove  
From our native land.'

Nor can it be considered wonderful that Colonizationists should be cowardly, as they must be conscious that a doctrine, based upon the most palpable wickedness, cannot withstand investigation. Hence we can account for the conduct of that most remarkable of the ghostly tribe—that most extraordinary of all unnatural phenomena—the 'Shade of Ashmun'—(to whom the language of Shakspeare is not inapplicable; indeed 'tis wholesome advice, and 't would be well for the ghost to take the hint. 'With Cain go wander through the shade of night, And never show thy head by day nor light.')

The personage (if he be really mortal) who has assumed this appellation, in order to gull some unwary Anti-Colonizationist into a discussion, has exhibited to the world a specimen of maneuvering peculiar to himself and partner. The Shade of Ashmun came boldly forward and accepted the challenge given by me, last autumn; but his worthy conditor, finding that I was adverse to discussing with an irresponsible opponent, challenged any Anti-Colonizationist to enter into a controversy with him. I accepted his terms, and even published the first article of the Controversy, when the Reverend editor (after having arranged matters for skulking away gently, with admirable precision) came before the public with the excuse, that he did not 'challenge Mr Jones, but any one to take the place of Mr Jones.' 'That is saying in other words, 'I wish to get clear of the Controversy with as much credit to myself as possible, and therefore say, that I wish an abler competitor than Mr Jones, and that he is unworthy of further attention.'

The readers of the Liberator, good Mr Orr, are not as apt to be deceived by appearances, as may be imagined. Although their skin is 'not colored as thine own,' yet they have discrimination enough to discern the difference between true courage and that blustering boastfulness of thine which pretends to be something when it is nothing. But seriously, friend Orr, since you have given us a sufficient indication of your disinclination to discuss Colonizationism with me, it is my intention to publish a number of Essays on the subject, in the Liberator; and you may reply to them or remain silent, (the latter being the most prudent course for a Colonizationist,) at your option. My motives in this doing, I trust, will not be impugned, as I am actuated in my endeavors to benefit those who are debarrd from the privileges which our Constitution secures to all over whom it has jurisdiction, by a sense of the duty required by the maxim, 'Do as you would be done by.'

GARDNER JONES.

New-York, April 5th, 1832.

The Shade of Ashmun is hereby informed that his reply to the first Letter of the Colonization Controversy, is lying at the office of the N. Y. Daily Sentinel, and is at his own disposal. I am totally unacquainted with its contents, having considered it as unfair to convert an unpublished article to my own uses.

GARDNER JONES.

New-York, April 5th, 1832.

Mr S. H. King, of this city, has issued Proposals for publishing a weekly newspaper with the title of 'The Workingman's Banner,' to be conducted by a gentleman of talent, and handsomely printed on a fine super royal sheet at \$2.00 per annum in advance. Three good reasons may be offered why this enterprise should succeed: the working classes need a paper exclusively devoted to their improvement and the maintenance of their rights—they are abundantly able to support such a paper—and they will be liable to gross and grievous imposition if they have no organ through which to be heard. Employers need watching, and a free press is the terror of evil doers. There is, unquestionably, in every branch of mechanical business, an exaction of labor altogether unequal to the reward, and a robbery of time from the laborers—time which God intends shall be allowed to invigorate and improve the human intellect, but which the cupidity of man wrests unresistingly and meanly from his needy brother. A reform, we are glad to perceive, has begun. Ten hours in various establishments, and in many places, constitute a day's work. Any thing beyond this is oppression and robbery, unless the wages are commensurate.

Letters received at this office from April 7, to April 14, 1832.

Rev. Samuel J. May, Brooklyn, Ct.; Edward J. Pompey, Nantucket, Mass.; Simon Davis, Thompson, Ct.; William Watkins, Baltimore, Md.; Gardner Jones, New-York City; Daniel C. Colesworthy, Portland, Me.; Abner H. Francis, Trenton, N. J.; Joseph C. Lovejoy, Bangor, Me.

#### DIED.

In this city, Mr Charles Thompson, (colored) aged 40. He was sick about five months. The greater part of that time he was without hope and without God in the world; but about four weeks before his death he was awakened and converted to God. He said that he had not done any thing for God that He should forgive him his sins, but that it was altogether for Christ's sake that his sins were forgiven. He said that he believed that the Lord would receive his soul into heaven for Jesus' sake. He left an affectionate wife and three children to mourn the loss of a beloved father and husband.—*Com.*



## LITERARY.

[For the Liberator.]  
LINES WRITTEN IN A YOUNG LADY'S ALBUM.

BY W. J. SNELLING.

The youth and bloom that maidens prize  
Are transient, not enduring things;  
Old age will dim the brightest eyes,  
Time shakes gray tresses from his wings.  
The limbs will fail,  
The cheek turn pale:  
The negress and Circassian must  
Assume one color in the dust.

In summer days the groves grow green,  
And buds and blossoms deck the trees;  
But Autumn spoils their glories sheen,  
And leaves them naked to the breeze:  
The branches fall  
By Boreas' fall;

They wither on the ground below,  
And Winter covers them with snow.

So on the glowing cheek of youth  
The lilies blow, the roses bloom;  
But, hear once more an oft told truth,  
They lose their lustre in the tomb.  
In churchyard laid,  
The roses fade.  
The lips of love, the cheek that glows,  
Grim death upon the worm bestows.

## THE WESTERN WORLD.

BY BRYANT.

Late, from this western shore, has morning chased  
The deep and ancient night, that threw its shroud  
O'er the green land of groves, the beautiful waste,  
Nurse of full streams, and lifted up of proud  
Sky-mingling mountains that o'erlook the cloud.  
Ere while, where you gay spires their brightness rear,  
Trees waved, and the brown hunter's shouts were loud  
Amid the forest; and the bounding deer  
Fled at the glancing plume, and the gaunt wolf yelled near.

And where his willing waves you bright blue bay  
Sends up, to kiss his decorated brim,  
And cradles, in his soft embrace, the gay  
Young group of grassy islands born of him,  
And, crowding high, or in the distance dim,  
Lifts the white throng of sails, that bear or bring  
The commerce of the world—with tawny limb,  
And belt and beads in sunlight glistening,  
The savage urged his skill like wild bird on the wing.

Then, all his youthful paradise around,  
And all the broad and boundless mainland, lay  
Cooled by the interminable wood, that frowned  
O'er mound and vale, where never summer ray  
Glanced, till the strong tornado broke his way  
Through the gray giants of the sylvan wild,  
Yet many a sheltered glade, with blossoms gay,  
Beneath the showery sky and sunshine mild,  
Within the shaggy arms of that dark forest mild.

There stood the Indian hamlet, there the lake  
Spread its blue sheet that flashed with many an oar,  
Where the brown otter plunged him from the brake,  
And the deer drank—as the light glaze flew o'er,  
The twinkling maize-field rustled on the shore;  
And while that spot, so wild, and lone, and fair,  
A look of glad and innocent beauty wore,  
And peace was on the earth and in the air,  
The warrior lit the pile, and bound his captive there:

Not unavenged—the toeman, from the wood,  
Beheld the deed, and, when the midnight shade  
Was stillest, gorged his battle-axe with blood;  
All died—the wailing babe—the shrieking maid—  
And in the flood of fire that seethed the glade,  
The roofs went down; but deep the silence grew  
When on the dewy woods the day-beam played;  
No more the cabin smokes rose wreathed and blue,  
And ever by their lake lay moored the light canoe.

Look now abroad—another race has filled  
These populous borders—wide the wood recedes,  
And tows shoot up, and fertile realms are tilled;  
The land is full of harvests and green meads;  
Streams numberless, that many a fountain feeds,  
Shine disembowered, and give to sun and breeze  
Their virgin waters: the full region leads  
New colonies forth, that toward the western seas  
Spread, like a rapid flame among the autumnal trees.

Here, the free spirit of mankind, at length,  
Throws its last fetters off; and who shall place  
A limit to the giant's unchained strength,  
Or curb his swiftness in the forward race?  
Far, like the comet's way through infinite space,  
Stretches the long untravelling path of light  
Into the depths of ages: we may trace,  
Afar, the brightening glory of its flight,  
Till the receding rays are lost to human sight.

## ON THE DEATH OF A YOUNG LADY OF FIVE YEARS OF AGE.

BY PHILLIS WHEATLEY, AN AFRICAN SLAVE.

From dark abodes to fair ethereal light  
Th' enraptured innocent has winged her flight;  
On the kind bosom of eternal love  
She finds unknown beatitude above.  
This know, ye parents, nor her loss deplore,  
She feels the iron hand of pain no more;  
The dispensations of unerring grace  
Should turn your sorrows into grateful praise.  
Let then no tears for her henceforward flow,  
No more distressed in our dark vale below.

Her morning sun, which rose divinely bright,  
Was quickly mantled by the gloom of night;  
But hear in heaven's blest bowers your Nancy fair,  
And learn to imitate her language there:  
'Thou, Lord, whom I beheld with glory crowned,  
By what sweet name, and in what tuneful sound  
Wilt thou be praised?—Seraphic powers are faint,  
Infinite love and majesty to paint.  
To thee let all their grateful voices raise,  
And saints and angels join their songs of praise.'

Perfect in bliss, she from her heavenly throne  
Looks down, and, smiling, beckons you to come;  
Why then, fond parents, why these fruitless groans?  
Restrain your tears, and cease your plaintive moans.  
Freed from a world of sin, and snares, and pain,  
Why would you wish your daughter back again?  
No—bow resigned. Let hope your grief control,  
And check the rising tumult of the soul.  
Calm in the prosperous, and adverse day,  
Adore the God who gives and takes away;  
Eye him in all, his holy name reverend,  
Upright your actions, and your hearts sincere,  
Till, having sailed through life's tempestuous sea,  
And from its rocks and boisterous billows free,  
Yourself, safe landed on the blissful shore,  
Shall join your happy babe to part no more.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

The memorial of the people of color of the city of Philadelphia and its vicinity, respectfully sheweth: That they have learned with deep regret that two resolutions have passed the House of Representatives of this Commonwealth, directing the committee on the judiciary to inquire—First, into the expediency of passing a law to protect the citizens of this Commonwealth against the evils arising from the emigration of free blacks from other states into Pennsylvania;—and, secondly, into the expediency of repealing so much of the acts of Assembly passed on the 27th of March, 1820, and the 25th March, 1826, as relates to fugitives from labor from other states, and of giving full effect to the act of Congress of the 12th of February, 1793, relative to such fugitives.

At the same time that your memorialists entertain the most perfect respect for any expression of sentiment emanating from so high a source as one of the legislative bodies of Pennsylvania, they cannot but lament, that at a moment when all mankind seem to be struggling for freedom, and endeavoring to throw off the shackles of political oppression, the constituted authorities of this great state should entertain a resolution which has a tendency to abridge the liberties heretofore accorded to a race of men confessedly oppressed. Our country asserts for itself the glory of being the freest upon the surface of the globe. She wrested that freedom, while yet in her infancy, by force of arms, at the expense of infinite blood and treasure, from a gigantic and most powerful adversary. She proclaimed freedom to all mankind—and offered her soil as a refuge to the enslaved of all nations. The brightness of her glory was radiant, but one dark spot still dimmed its lustre. Domestic slavery existed among a people who had themselves disclaimed to submit to a master. Many of the states of this union hastened to wipe out this blot; and foremost in the race was Pennsylvania. In less than four years after the declaration of independence by the act of 1st March, 1780, she abolished slavery within her limits, and from that time her avowed policy has been to extend and beautify this splendid feature in her system—to preserve unimpaired the freedom of all men, whatever might be the shade of complexion with which it may have been blessed. *'Almighty to distinguish them.'* *'All men,'* says our declaration of rights, *'are born equally free and independent'*—and *'have certain inherent and indefeasible rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness.'* *'All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience.'* *'The people shall be secure in their persons, houses and possessions, from unreasonable searches and seizures. No person shall be proceeded against criminally by information. No person shall be put twice in jeopardy of life or limb. Every man shall have a remedy by due course of law.'* Where, in this forcible epitome of man's indefeasible rights, promulgated nine years after the African race had been elevated to freedom—where, in this declaration of the people of this Commonwealth, assembled in convention, do we find a distinction drawn between the man whose skin is white, and him whose skin is dark? Where, in the legislative acts of this Commonwealth, under the constitution, and subsequent to this declaration, do we find such a distinction? On what page of our statute book does it appear? It is confidently asserted that in Pennsylvania it does not exist—and has been re-pudiated and banished from her code. *'It is not for us to enquire,'* says the beautiful preamble to the act of 1780, *'it is not for us to enquire, why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion—it is sufficient for us to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand.'* And from that day to the present, Pennsylvania has acted upon a principle, that among those whom the same Almighty hand has formed, the hand of man should not presume to make a difference. And why, we respectfully ask, is this distinction now to be proclaimed for the first time in the code of Pennsylvania? Why are her borders to be surrounded by a wall of iron, against freemen, whose complexions fall below the wavering and uncertain shades of white? For this is the only criterion of admission or exclusion which the resolutions indicate. It is not to be asked, is he brave—is he honest—is he just—is he free from the stain of crime—but is he black—is he brown—is he yellow—is he other than white?

This is the criterion by which Pennsylvania, who for fifty years has indignantly rejected the distinction, who daily receives into her bosom all men, from all nations, is now called upon to reject from her soil, such portions of a banished race of freemen, born within view of her own mountains, as may seek within her limits a place of rest. We respectfully ask, is not this the spirit of the first resolution? And why, we repeat, shall this abandonment of the principles of your honorable forefathers now first take place in Pennsylvania? Have the rights we now possess been abused? The domestic history of Pennsylvania answers these questions in the negative. Who can turn to the page in that history which exhibits a single instance of insurrection or violation of the peace of society, resulting from the residence of a colored population in this Commonwealth. The story of their wrongs may be read in the most eloquent productions of our law givers. The story of the injuries which the people of Pennsylvania have sustained from them, cannot be found, because it does not exist. Your memorialists are aware that prejudice has been recently excited against them by unfounded reports of their concurrence in promoting servile insurrections. With the feeling of honest indignation, inspired by conscious innocence, they repel the slander. They feel themselves to be citizens of Pennsylvania. Many of them were descended from ancestors, who were raised with yours on this soil, to which they feel bound by the strongest ties. As children of the state, they look to it as a guardian and a protector, and in common with you feel the necessity of maintaining law and order, for the promotion of the common weal. Equally unfounded is the charge, that this population fills the almshouses with paupers—and increases, in an undue proportion, the public burdens. We appeal to the facts and documents which accompany this memorial, as giving abundant refutation to an error so injurious to our character.

Unsupportable as your memorialists conceive the first resolution to be, the second, which proposes the repeal of so much of the laws of 1820 and 1826, as relates to fugitives from labor, is still more abhorrent to their feelings. What, let us ask, is the substance of these portions of the acts in question? Simply to take from aldermen and justices of the peace, the power of deciding upon the liberty or slavery of a man. The power is still reserved to them to issue a warrant, and cause the arrest of a suspected fugitive from labor. But the determination of his fate, a question almost as momentous as that of life or death, is referred to the intelligence and discretion of judges. And is this a defect in our law? Is it a defect, that before a man, a husband, a father, shall be torn from the bosom of his family and consigned to chains—and doomed to hopeless slavery, he shall be heard before a judge—that before a wife and a mother shall be borne away in

cords from her offspring, she shall be heard before a judge? Is this provision of our laws a stain upon our statute book? Rather let us ask, was it not derogatory to the character of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, that she should ever have prized liberty so lightly, as to permit officers, whom to this day she does not suffer to pass upon matters of property beyond one hundred dollars, (and even then subject to the right of appeal,) whose powers were formerly limited to one fifth of that sum—to decide by their voice the permanent and irrevocable fate of a human being? Now that this enormity has ceased to overshadow the land, we can scarcely credit that it ever existed. We can with difficulty persuade ourselves to believe that in this free and powerful state, it ever could have been, that a man should be seized, without a warrant, dragged to the office of any magistrate whom the oppressor might choose to select—and from thence, at his bidding, be consigned to slavery—such was the law—such, we earnestly pray, may it never be again. Pennsylvania has revolted from the flagrant injustice. She has taken one step in advance. She has said, a justice of the peace shall not pass upon the liberty of a man; a justice of the peace shall not bear a freholder from his home, a father from his family. No authority less than that of a judge shall inflict this blow. And is not this enough? Is it not enough that there are more than one hundred individuals of any one of whom is competent to decide the fate of a human being? Can the most hardened trafficker in human agony, desire or demand more than this? Is it not, we respectfully ask, far too great a concession to the spirit of slavery, that we should suffer even our judges to officiate as the instruments for the assertion of her claims? Compare the condition of a judge in this Commonwealth, with that of a judge of the very nation from which we have wrested our own liberties. Let a man of the deepest jet be brought before him, and it is the glorious prerogative of that judge to exclaim, *'Your feet are on English soil—therefore you are free!'*

While here, in this republican land, which has again and again proclaimed the equality of rights of all men, the judge, the American judge, the Pennsylvania judge, himself a freeman, is bound by our laws, tied down hand and foot, obliged to stifle the beatings of his own heart, to keep down his own indignation, and sentence a fellow being to chains and to the lash. Is not this a sufficient sacrifice at the altar of slavery? Would it not be just, is it not due to the honor of the state, do not the constitution of the state and the declaration of rights demand, that instead of the retrograde step now proposed, another be made in advance, and that the decision of a jury should be required upon so high a question as the liberty of a man? We respectfully submit it to your honorable bodies, that if the authorities of this state are to be employed in such unhappy matters, they should be obliged to call to their aid the same means of attaining to a rightful decision, as are secured to us in all other transactions of life, a jury of twelve men—and why should this not be? Should the most elevated individual in this community demand of the humblest and lowliest black man, five hundred and thirty-four cents, that humble and lowly man may place his cause under the protection of a jury. Then shall he be denied this privilege, when that which is dearer to him than his life, is demanded by his adversary? Your memorialists do not ask you to interfere with those rights of property which are claimed under the constitution, by our fellow citizens of other states. They simply and most respectfully ask, that if the aid of the judiciary of this Commonwealth be invoked, what is termed the right of property in human beings, that they shall be permitted to lend their aid only under such checks and guards, as are consistent with the feelings of the people of this state, with the spirit and letter of her constitution, and with the whole tenor of our code of laws.

In conclusion, your memorialists most earnestly pray, for the sake of humanity, for the honor of the community, in the name of freedom, they most earnestly pray, that your honorable bodies will reject, if offered for your adoption, any measures such as those which appear to be contemplated by the resolutions referred. And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

Signed in behalf of a numerous meeting of the people of color, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the day of January, 1832.

JAMES FORTEN, Chairman.  
WILLIAM WHIPPER, } Secretaries.  
ROBERT PURVIS, }

## From the Philadelphia Friend.

## FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

Many erroneous opinions have prevailed, with regard to the true character and condition of the free colored people of Pennsylvania. They have been represented as an idle and worthless class, furnishing inmates for our poor houses and penitentiaries. A few plain facts are sufficient to relate these gratuitous allegations. In the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, by the census of 1830, they constituted a little eleven per cent, or one ninth of the whole population. From the account of the guardians of the poor, printed by order of the board, it appears that of the out-door poor receiving regular weekly supplies, in the first month, 1830, the time of the greatest need, the people of color were about one to twenty-three whites; or not quite four per cent. a disproportion of whites to colored, of more than two to one in favour of the latter. When it is considered that they perform the lowest offices in the community—that the avenues to what are esteemed the most honorable and profitable professions in society, are in a great measure, if not wholly closed against them, one cause of this disproportion, which we presume is but little known, but which is worthy of special notice, will be found in the numerous societies among themselves for mutual aid.

These societies expended, in one year, about six thousand dollars for the relief of the sick and the indigent of their own color, from funds raised among themselves. Besides, the taxes paid by the colored people of Philadelphia, exceeds in amount the sums expended out of the funds of the city for the relief of their poor. If my limits permitted, I could proceed to show by fair inferences from well ascertained facts, and by sound reasoning, based upon principles in political economy which are generally admitted, that so far from being a nuisance or a burden upon the community, the free colored people of Pennsylvania are a valuable acquisition to the state. Perhaps these topics may be examined at another time. One thing more I will mention before I dismiss the subject. Much has been said in favor of separating the two races, African and European. The condition of both, it is contended, would be benefited by their living apart, in separate communities. Now so far from admitting the correctness of this opinion, I believe the very reverse to be true. I think it may be conclusively shown that, in the present state of things, the condition of both is greatly benefited by their living, as they now do, in the mutual exchange of advantages.

The whites are elevated, in the scale of civilization and refinement, by the lower and most menial services being performed by the colored race. For if not performed by them, they would necessarily have to be performed by whites. And on the other hand, the colored people are gradually receiving that intellectual culture, which is derived from their in-

tercourse with a people whose opportunities of improvement have been greater than theirs.

*An upright and independent Judiciary.*—When the King of Prussia had determined to build what is called the Palace of Sans Souci, a part of his plan was to connect the new building with the old, by a pleasure ground. A mill occupied part of the ground which he wished to include in his new Garden. He offered to buy it, and pay for it considerably more than the value. The miller refused to part with it, and declared he would never leave the mill which had descended to him from his forefathers. The King himself in one of his walks conversed with the miller upon the subject. Becoming at length irritated with the man's obstinacy, he said to him, *'You seem not to be aware that I am the master, and that I can take by force what you refuse to give up to me.'* *'Oh,'* replied the miller, *'you cannot frighten me in this way: We have judges at Berlin!'* Frederick was so pleased with the answer that he abandoned his plan, and formed his garden so as not to interfere with the patrimony of the miller. Happy is the condition of a people, when a poor miller, upon seeing the oppressor's uplifted arm, can console himself with the reflection, *that there are judges in the land.*—*Lord Dover's Life of Frederick the Great.*

*Boring for Water.* M. Jabard, of Brussels, announces that he has brought to perfection a new machine for boring the earth to any depth, and through any soil. He states that his plan has been tried with the greatest success in the neighborhood of Marienburg, where he had rapidly attained a depth of seventy-five feet, through an inclined rock of phyllite mixed with argillaceous flints. By a process something similar, though less perfect, wells have been dug in China to the depth of from 2000 to 2800 feet, through solid rock. M. Jabard anticipates the greatest advantages to geognosy from his discovery; and, with the usual enthusiasm of projectors, looks forward with confidence to the period (not far distant) when we shall be as well acquainted with the centre of the earth as we are with its surface.

*The Cherokees.*—The correspondent of the N. Y. Commercial writes that the President has declared that, in forty days, he will have a Treaty with the Cherokees, for their removal beyond the Mississippi! I know not upon what ground the declaration is made other than this,—That the Cherokees are convinced that there is no power in the federal arm to protect them; and that the Creeks and Choctaws having determined to remove, they alone, of all their race, will be left within the limits of the States. These considerations I have, I know, been urged upon the Cherokee delegation here, and upon their nation. The whole number of the Cherokee nation is eleven thousand;—five thousand of whom are within the limits of Georgia; four thousand in Alabama, and two thousand in North Carolina and Tennessee.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 29.

In the senate, on Wednesday, Mr. Clay presented a memorial, signed by a number of citizens of Kentucky, inviting the attention of Congress to the subject of colonizing the free blacks on the coast of Africa, and praying that suitable appropriations may be made towards that object; and after some remarks from Messrs. Clay, Hayne, and Chambers, the memorial, without reading, was laid on the table.

*THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY* will, with the leave of Providence, be held in Boston, on the last Wednesday in May, at 11 o'clock, A. M. The Annual Report will be read, and addresses be delivered on the occasion. As the members of the Society reside in different parts of the country, Editors of papers friendly to the cause of Temperance are requested to insert the above notice.

J. EDWARDS,  
Cor. Sec. Am. Temp. Soc.

*A Sign.*—The pedestrians through Cornhill at the entrance of Washington street, have found much to attract curiosity and much to admire in the large and elegant sign, put up a few days ago by Mr. Redding, a well known painter. There is scarcely a time from morning till night when you will not see a group collected on the sidewalk opposite this attractive specimen of art. The sign represents *'The Faithful Servant,'* and was executed by James Eurt, a young man only seventeen years of age; the frame was also painted by a lad.—*Am. Traveller.*

*Serious Affair.*—We understand that a dispute occurred on Saturday, between one black and two white men, about a dog. One of the white men seized a junk bottle and struck the negro over the head with it. The blow cut his temple and head very badly, and the white men escaped leaving him on the side walk.

The names of the men who committed this outrage are known.—*Galaxy of last week.*

*Pleasure at the South.*—There have been one or two massacres given at Charleston lately, in order, like the recent horse races at that place, at which bets of 10 and 20,000 dollars were lost and won, to illustrate the miseries of the South, as plaintively set forth in the late nullification address.

*Villany.*—The New Bedford Mercury states, on the authority of a gentleman in Nantucket, that about sixty barrels of sperm oil belonging to Mr. Samuel B. Tuck, which was a part of 21 hds deposited on the beach near his manufactory, was let out upon the beach and lost.

A committee of the House of Lords has reported an important measure for the pacification of Ireland. It proposes an entire extinction of the tide system in Ireland.

The lease of the Chatham, N. Y. Theatre has been purchased, with the intention, as is said, of having the building converted into a Church.

*Extraordinary Birth.*—Near the town of Bromsgrove (says a late English paper) are four sisters, named Maria, Mary, Sarah and Elizabeth Richardson, the produce of one birth, who were born on the 23d March, 1819, and now have obtained the age of 13 years. The father was a laborer, but the presents which he received from visitors, who flocked from all parts to see them, soon placed him in easy circumstances. The children are all in good health.

*Dey of Algiers.*—It is said his highness the quondam Dey has declared that the dethronement of Charles X. was a chastisement inflicted by Providence on him for having meddled with the Regency of Algiers! How true is the shrewd remark of Buonarrotti, that *'we always see the finger of God in the punishment of our foes.'*

Ex-officio informations have been filed against the editor of the Bahama Argus for a libel on the Governor; he has been condemned to imprisonment by a jury composed of black and white men, and there are no less than five other prosecutions of a similar kind hanging over his head, as well as two each, over nine individuals on the Island.

Portland has become a city, accepting a charter by a vote of 780 to 496. It is to be organized similarly to this City. The salary of the Mayor is to be fixed by the City Council.

## MORAL.

## THE PRAYER AT SEA.

Father Supreme!—to thee our prayers ascending,  
Rise from the bosom of the heaving deep,  
From the wide waste of troubled waters—blending  
With the free winds that o'er the billows sweep,  
Far and resistless—wilt thou not attending  
List to the voice of those who watch and weep!

O'er the vast world of waters still thou movest,  
In the dark rushing of the billowy main;  
Yet oft, with mercy's gentle voice, reprovest  
The storm to calmness,—and we see thee then  
Arch the clouds with glory—for thou lovest,  
Even on the tempest's verge, to smile again.

Hast thou not measured out the seas, and given  
Bounds to the whirlwind, which its rage adjuet?  
And shall we not adore thee!—Whom in heaven,  
Or whom on earth, beside thee, shall we trust?  
We, by thy breath, through Ocean's surges driven,  
Like the tost sea-spray, or the scattered dust.

Whom shall we fear beside thee?—Men, but thinking  
Of thy unfathomed depths, despair and die—  
Earth sees her God, and trembles—Ocean, sinking  
Through his dark caverns, leaves his borders dry—  
The Heaven of Heavens, before thine anger shrinking,  
Rolls like a scroll away, and shuns thine eye.

Whom shall we love beside thee?—Seas may sever  
Hearts whose founts are but the wreaths of earth,  
Wreaths of fast fading flowers which bloom, but e'er  
Die with the hour that gives their fragrance birth.  
Thy love, unchanging and unending, never,  
Saviour—oh never can we speak its worth!

Didst thou not veil thy glory, and, descending,  
Dwell for our sakes in grief—and stoop to be  
Even with the humble, humblest—poor and wending  
By the rough mountain paths, or troubled sea?  
Now thou dost hear our lonely cry ascending—  
Whom shall we trust, Redeemer,—whom but thee?

On—let the winds sweep on—our prayers before thee,  
Fragrant with our sighs and sorrows, shall appear—  
On—let the waves heave onward—we adore thee,  
We trust, love, serve thee—how then shall we fear?  
Even though thy tempests whelm us, we implore thee,  
This, only this—be Thou, our refuge, near.

## TO YOUNG MEN.

Do the Young Men engage with the interest they should, in the various philanthropic and benevolent exertions of the day? Are they really aware that every public undertaking to banish vice and national error from our land, claims not only their countenance, but also their unlimited efforts? Who, let us ask, are to experience the benefits from the accomplishment of the designs of those societies which are aiming entirely at the public welfare? And who are to share in the rich harvest of the future, whose seed has been sown by those devoted philanthropists, who, although they will probably never partake of the happy results, have fearlessly advocated the improvement of our nation's character? They have labored to convince men of the dangers of Intemperance. Stimulated to action by the suffering and unhappy condition of the victims of bondage, they have plead the cause of Liberty, appealing to humanity, justice, and mercy, for the correctness of their principles. The all-devouring, awful War-System, has been attacked, and powerfully too. Its immense sacrifices have been estimated, and its practice proved to be anti-Christian, and entirely at variance with every moral trait which should characterize a nation. These worthy reformers have enforced their principles, *'Whether men will hear or whether they will forbear.'* Jealous for their country's virtue and honor, they have wrestled earnestly with man; warning him against the evils which are destroying her character and prosperity. Laboring for the cause of righteousness, they have humbly raised their eyes to heaven, and fervently uttered their prayers to God, for his blessing and assistance in their holy designs. Thanks be to Him for what has already been accomplished, through the intercession of His faithful messengers of good.

Young Men, will you be indifferent to the highest interests of yourselves and your country? What is your duty but to manfully oppose Intemperance; a vice, which, if not resisted, will deprive you of the enjoyment of society—of your reputation, and domestic tranquility and happiness. Looking at its effects, we could sigh over the weakness of humanity, and wish that every effort within the grasp of human power, might be directed towards its suppression. Can you listen to the rattling chain and heart-chilling pleadings of yonder fellow-being, called a SLAVE, and still control the pulsations of freedom and humanity? Will you not also, come up to the holy banner of Peace, which has been waved, so invitingly, around your heads, by that patriotic, worthy band, and volunteer your services and influence, to preserve the lives of your countrymen, and prevent the human misery incident to war? Defending at the same time, your country's sacred honor, and opposing Sin!—*Young Men's Advocate, Brooklyn, Ct.*

*Beautiful Extract.*—In that excellent work of James Douglas, on the *Advancement of Society*, are found many bright and beautiful thoughts like the following:

*'A new power arises from the improvement of benevolence; the charity of instinct is giving way to the charity of principle. It is well known that wise antiquity worshipped two beings under the name of love; the elder, issuing with golden wings from the egg of night, immortal, immutable as his mother's flowers. A mythologist might, in like manner, have assigned two different personifications to charity; describing the one as born of pity and occasion; the other as springing from Eros and Sophia, or foresight; the one fair and frail as the daughters of men; the other, with the severe and lasting beauty of immortals; the one holding forth a single cup of water to the passing pilgrim; the other digging a well in the desert, which once opened will flow forever. The first merely removes a want, the second implants a principle.'*

*Reproof.*—Men must not say, this is too hard to be borne, you must not deal after this sort, let those who cannot suffer reproof, seek another master beside God, for they are not worthy to hear his word. The world would gladly be spared; and we see many who are ready to burst with rage, when they are threatened and corrected. They say that they wish to be won by mildness. Then let them go to the devil's school; he will flatter, yes, and destroy them.—*Cato.*

FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE, AND AT THE BOOKSTORE OF CARTER AND HENRY.  
**A DISCOURSE**  
On Slavery in the United States,  
By Rev. Samuel J. May, Pastor of the First Church in Brooklyn, Ct.